Resolved that the United States Federal Government Should Establish a Foreign Policy Significantly Limiting the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction

NATIONAL DEBATE TOPIC FOR HIGH SCHOOLS, 2001–2002 Pursuant to 44 United States Code, Section 1333

Compiled by the Congressional Research Service Library of Congress

### 107th Congress, 2d Session / Senate Document 107-15

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### \* 44 U.S. CODE SECTION 1333

- (a) The Librarian of Congress shall prepare compilations of pertinent excerpts, bibliographical references, and other appropriate materials relating to:
  - (1) the subject selected annually by the National University Extension Association as the national high school debate topic and
  - (2) the subject selected annually by the American Speech Association as the national college debate topic.

In preparing the compilations the Librarian shall include materials which in his judgment are representative of, and give equal emphasis to, the opposing points of view on the respective topics.

(b) The compilations on the high school debate topics shall be printed as Senate documents and the compilations on the college debate topics shall be printed as House of Representative documents, the cost of which shall be charged to the congressional allotment for printing and binding. Additional copies may be printed in the quantities and distributed in the manner the Joint Committee on Printing directs.

(Pub. L. 90-620, Oct. 22, 1968, 82 Stat. 1270.)

### CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	v
SUMMARY	. 3
GENERAL	. 4
CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS	. 7
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NONPROLIFERATION POLICIES, AND NATIONAL MISSILE DEFENSE	. 9
TERRORISM	23
TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS	25
GLOSSARY OF COMMONLY USED ACRONYMS	28
AVAILABLE GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS ON THE 2001-2002 HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE TOPIC	. 31



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### Foreword

The 2001-2002 high school debate topic is "Resolved: That the United States federal government should establish a foreign policy significantly limiting the use of weapons of mass destruction. This topic is chosen by the revelant debate associations.

In compliance with 44 U.S. Code, section 1333\*, the Congressional Research Service of the Library of Congress prepared this bibliography to assist high school debaters in researching the topic. This bibliography is intended to assist debaters in the identification of further references and resources on the topic. In selecting items for this manual, the Congressional Research Service (CRS) has sampled a wide spectrum of opinions reflected in the current literature on this issue. No preference for any policy is indicated by the selection or positioning of articles cited, nor is CRS disapproval of any policy or article to be inferred from its omission.

Some of the U.S. government documents listed in this bibliography may be found in U.S. government depository libraries, which can be identified by local public or college libraries. The Library of Congress cannot distribute copies of these or other materials to debaters. This manual is also available on the GPO Access Home Page on the World Wide Web at http://www.access.gpo.gov.

The bibliography was prepared by Tara Rainson, Librarian, and Michelle Lucy-Roper, Intern, Office of Information Resources Management, CRS under the direction of Sherry B. Shapiro, Information Resource Specialist. Production was made possible by Ann Eschete, Information Resources Assistant.

Good luck to each debater in researching, preparing and presenting arguments on this year's topic.

Daniel P. Mulhollan, Director Congressional Research Service

# RESOLVED: THAT THE UNITED STATES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SHOULD ESTABLISH A FOREIGN POLICY SIGNIFICANTLY LIMITING THE USE OF WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION

## AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY ON THE 2001-2002 HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE TOPIC

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August 2002

#### Introduction

The 2001-2002 high school debate topic is: "Resolved: That the United States Federal Government Should Establish a Foreign Policy Significantly Limiting the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction."

This selective bibliography is intended to help debaters identify resources and references on the debate topic. The bibliography lists citations to books, congressional publications, and magazine and journal articles. The manual is divided into six subtopics: general, chemical and biological weapons; nuclear weapons, nonproliferation policies, and national missile defense; terrorism; treaties and agreements and glossary of commonly used acronyms. Debaters may look for these and related resources at their local high school, research, government depository, and public libraries.

There are a number of debate websites available for consultation. Examples include:

the National Federation of State High School Associations; http://www.nfhs.org/NFISDA.htm,

the University of Kansas Government Documents Library;  $http://kuhttp.cc.ukans.edu/cwis/units/kulib/docs/debate2000.html, \ {\it and}$ 

the University of Michigan Documents Center, http://www.lib.umich.edu/libhome/Documents.center/debate00.html.

The above websites contain many links to documents and to websites of organizations active in the weapons of mass destruction debate. A web search on the topic "high school debate" will yield a wide variety of debate related websites for further research.

### **Summary**

The purpose of the debate manual is to provide students with a brief overview of information concerning the 2001-2002 national high school debate topic, "Resolved: That the United States Federal Government Should Establish a Foreign Policy Significantly Limiting the Use of Weapons of Mass Destruction."

This bibliography includes citations to books, congressional publications, and magazine and journal articles. The compilation is not intended to supply complete coverage of the topic. Further research on limiting weapons of mass destruction in general, as well as each suggested subtopic, can be done at high school, research, depository, and public libraries.

Databases available through the Congressional Research Service's Office of Information Resources Management were used to prepare this bibliography. The manual is divided into six subtopics: general; chemical and biological weapons; nuclear weapons, nonproliferation policies, and national missile defense; terrorism; treaties and agreements and glossary of commonly used acronyms.

#### **GENERAL**

### Bailey, Kathleen C.

Weapons of mass destruction: costs versus benefits. New Delhi, Manohar Publishers and Distributors, 1994. 147 p.

#### Butler, Richard.

The greatest threat: Iraq, weapons of mass destruction, and the growing crisis of global security. New York, Public Affairs, 2001. 262 p.

### CATO Handbook for Congress: 107th Congress.

Chapter 50: Terrorism and weapons of mass destruction.

Available on the Internet at: http://www.cato.org/pubs/handbook/hb107/hb107-50.pdf

### Chandler, Robert W.

New face of war: weapons of mass destruction and the revitalization of America's transoceanic military strategy. McLean, Va., Amcoda Press, 1998. 465 p.

### Cirincione, Joseph.

Defending America. Georgetown journal of international affairs, winter/spring  $2002\colon 137\text{-}145$ .

Available on the Internet at: http://cfdev.georgetown.edu/publications/journal/ws02cirincione.pdf

### CQ Researcher.

Weapons of mass destruction: can the U.S. protect itself? Washington, Mar. 8, 2002: whole issue (p. 193-214).

Partial contents.—Germ warfare.—Anti-proliferation efforts.—Impact of Gulf War.—Anthrax lessons.—Vaccine controversy.—Nuclear sabotage and 'dirty bombs'.

### DeLorenzo, Robert A.

Weapons of mass destruction: emergency care. Upper Saddle River, NJ, Prentice Hall, 2000. 152 p.

#### Drielak, Steven C. Brandon, Thomas R.

Weapons of mass destruction: response and investigation. Springfield, Ill., Charles C. Thomas, 2000. 227 p.

Preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction. Edited by Eric Herring. Portland, Ore., Frank Cass, 2000. 226 p.

Partial contents. – Counter proliferation, conventional counter force and nuclear war. – Iran and Iraq as rational crisis actors. – The international system and use of weapons of mass destruction. – The methodology of mass destruction: assessing threats in the new world order.

Repairing the regime: preventing the spread of mass destruction. Edited by Joseph Cirincione. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, April 2000. 304 p.

From the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace global policy program - non-proliferation project. Contains country resources, news articles, conference information.

SIPRI (Stockholm Peace Research Institute) military expenditure and arms production project.

Available on the Internet at: http://projects.sipri.se/milex.html

Partial contents.— Recent trends in military expenditure.— Country and regional studies on military expenditure.— Trends in arms production.— Data on national arms production.

SIPRI (Stockholm Peace Research Institute) Yearbook 2001: armaments, disarmament and international security. New York, Oxford University Press, 2001. 715 p.

### Tenet, George J.

The threat: an intelligence assessment. American intelligence journal, v. 19, spring 1999; 5-13.

In this statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on Current and Projected National Security Threats, the Director of the CIA discusses threats posed by weapons of mass destruction, regional instability, and terrorism.

### U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

Unclassified report to Congress on the acquisition of technology relating to weapons of mass destruction and advanced conventional munitions,  $1\,\mathrm{Jan}$ . Through 30 June 2001.

Available on the Internet at: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/bian/bian\_jan\_2002.htm

Contents. – Acquisition by country: Iran, Iraq, North Korea, Libya, Syria, Sudan, India, Pakistan, Egypt. – Chemical, biological, radiological, and nuclear terrorism: key suppliers: Russia, North Korea, China, Western Countries. – Trends

### U.S. General Accounting Office.

Weapons of mass destruction: State Department oversight of science centers program: report to the chairman and to the ranking member, Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, Committee on Appropriations, U.S. Senate. Washington, G.A.O., 2001. 29 p.

Available on the Internet at: http://purl.access.gpo.gov/gpo/LPS/2526 GAO-01-582," May 2001.

### U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Nonproliferation.

Available on the Internet at: http://www.state.gov/t/np

Bureau web site contains information on nuclear nonproliferation, nuclear weapons free zones, biological weapons, chemical weapons, export controls, advanced conventional weapons, and treaties and agreements.

### Utgoff, Victor.

The coming crisis: nuclear proliferation, U.S. interests, and world order. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 2000.  $319~\rm p.$ 

Partial contents. – The specter of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons proliferation. – Universal deterrence or conceptual collapse? Liberal pessimism and utopian realism. – U.S. security policy in a nuclear-armed world, or what if Iraq had had nuclear weapons? – The response to renegade use of weapons of mass destruction.

Weapons of mass destruction terms handbook. Washington, Government Reprints Press, 2001.

Weapons of mass destruction: opposing viewpoints. Edited by Jennifer A. Hurley.

San Diego, Calif. Greenh ave Press, 1999. 176 p.

Partial contents. – How likely is a terrorist attack involving weapons of mass destruction? – What policies should the United States adopt toward nuclear weapons? – How can the United States defend itself from an attack? – Will international treaties curb weapons proliferation?

WMD: Weapons of mass destruction: the new strategic framework. Special issue of U.S. foreign policy agency, an electronic journal of the U.S. Department of State. July 2002.

Available on the internet at: http://usinfo.state.gov/journals/itps/0702/ijpe/ijpe0702.htm

Partial contents. – The new strategic framework: a response to 21st century threats. – U.S. approaches to nonproliferation. – Nuclear offensive arms reductions - past and present. – The U.S.-Russian front against terrorism and weapons proliferation.

### CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS

#### Alibek, Ken.

Biohazard: the chilling true story of the largest covert biological weapons program in the world-told from inside by the man who ran it. New York, Randham House, 1999. 319 p.

### Ban, Jonathan.

Agricultural biological warfare: an overview. Chemical and biological arms control institute, 2000. 8 p.

### Betts, Richard K.

The new threat of mass destruction. Foreign affairs, v. 77, Jan./Feb. 1998: 26-41.

"... the roles [weapons of mass destruction] play in international conflict are changing. They no longer represent the technological frontier of warfare. Increasingly, they will be weapons of the weak-states or groups that militarily are at best second-class. The importance of the different types among them has also shifted. Biological weapons should now be the most serious concern, with nuclear weapons second and chemicals a distant third . . . . the mainstays of Cold War security policy-deterrence and arms control-are not what they used to be. Some new threats may not be deterrable . . .".

### Croddy, Eric. Perez-Armendariz, Clarisa. Hart, John.

Chemical and biological warfare: a comprehensive survey for the concerned citizen. New York, Copernicus Books, 2001. 336 p.

Partial contents.—Who has these weapons?—Threats and responses.— Basic concepts.—Chemical warfare: a brief history.—Biological warfare: a brief history.—Control and disarmament.

#### Dando Malcolm.

The new biological weapons: threat, proliferation, and control. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. Boulder, CO, 2001. 181 p.

### Garrett, Laurie.

The nightmare of bioterrorism. Foreign affairs, v. 80, Jan./Feb. 2001: 76-89.

"Biological terrorism is now a greater menace than ever, yet the world remains woefully unprepared to protect itself. Public health systems must stockpile vaccines and develop response strategies but they risk losing legitimacy if governments continue to rely on the military and the police for defense against bioterrorism. It is time to seriously rethink the U. S. approach to this deadly threat."

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The battle to obtain U.S. ratification of the chemical weapons convention. The Henry L. Stimson Center, July 1997. 67 p. (Occasional Paper no. 35)

Available on the Internet at: http://www.stimson.org/pubs.cfm?ID=33

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Contains sections on chemical and biological weapons,

nonproliferation, weaponization of space and U.S. nuclear posture.

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#### Levine, Herbert M.

Chemical and biological weapons in our times. New York, Franklin Watts, 2000. 127 p.

Partial contents.—Guarding against the effects of attack.—Past use of chemical and biological weapons.—Proliferation: why do nations obtain chemical and biological weapons?—Terrorism: how much of a problem is it?—Attempts at control: practical solutions?

### Malloy, Curtis D.

A history of biological and chemical warfare and terrorism. Journal of public health management practice, v. 6, July 2000: 30-37.

A brief history of biological warfare and terrorism. This article argues that examining disease in history can help public health specialists improve our surveillance system for bioterrorism.

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Biological terrorism & weapons of mass destruction, ideas in conflict. Hudson, Wis., G. E. McCuen Pub., 1999. 160 p.

### Pearson, Graham S., et al.

Biological weapons proliferation: reasons for concern, courses of action. Henry L. Stimson Center, Report no. 24, Jan. 1998.  $141\ p$ .

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Contents: The threat of deliberate disease in the 21st century. – Industry's role, concerns, and interests in the negotiation of a BWC compliance protocol.–Doubts about confidence: the potential limits of confidence-building measures for the biological weapons convention. – Verification provisions of the chemical weapons convention and their relevance to the biological weapons convention.—Man versus microbe.

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Chemical and biological warfare: the cruelest weapons. Rev. ed., Berkley Heights, NJ, Enslow Publishers, 2000. 112 p.

Partial contents.— Nerve gases and germ warfare.— Agent orange and yellow rain.— Lessons from the Middle East.— The threat of bioterrorism.

### Regis, Edward

The biology of doom: the history of America's secret germ warfare project. New York, Henry Holt, 1999.  $259~\rm p.$ 

#### U.S. General Accounting Office.

Bioterrrorism: federal research and preparedness activities. Washington, G.A.O., 2001. 102 p.

Weapons of mass destruction: foreign and domestic options for containment: proceedings of a conference May 6, 1998. Edited by David J. Eaton. Austin, Tex., Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas at Austin, 1999. 46 p.

Partial contents.— Biological and chemical warfare threats and countermeasures. — Government contingency planning for biological and chemical terrorism. — Experience in decommissioning weapons of mass destruction.— Containing the threat from illegal bombings. — How do U.S. government agencies cope with international biological and chemical warfare threats?— Contingency planning for nuclear terrorism.— Comments on the containment of weapons of mass destruction.

### Zanders, Jean Pascal.

Assessing the risk of chemical and biological weapons proliferation to terrorists. Nonproliferation review, fall 1999: 17-34.

"... once it has been determined that a particular group has developed an interest in chemical or biological weapons, its eventual acquisition and release of these weapons is virtually taken for granted ... This black box approach has diverted attention away from what is actually involved in the acquisition of chemical or biological weapons by a terrorist group .... this article develops a framework to analyze the process of proliferation to sub-state actors ... this article concludes that while the acquisition of CB weapons by terrorists is definitely feasible, such organizations nonetheless face enormous obstacles on the path to a CB weapon capability."

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Preventing missile proliferation: incentives and security guarantees. Disarmament diplomacy, no. 57, May 2001. [6] p.

Albright, David. Hibbs, Mark.

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The decision to use the atomic bomb and the architecture of an American myth. New York, Knopf, 1995. 847 p.

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#### Bee, Ronald J.

Nuclear proliferation: the post-Cold-War challenge. New York, Foreign Policy Association, 1995. 72 p.

#### Brown, Harold. Schlesinger, James.

Is arms control dead? Washington quarterly, v. 23, spring 2000: 171-238.

"Harold Brown and James Schlesinger debate the topic; Thomas Graham considers how to strengthen nuclear arms control; John Steinbruner explores the renovation of arms control; Stephen Cambone looks at lessons learned from the test ban vote; and Brad Roberts examines the road ahead."

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The future of U.S. nuclear weapons policy. Arms control today, v. 27, Oct. 1997: 3-5.

Former director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency discusses denuclearization efforts.

### Carter, Leon T.

Arms control and nonproliferation: issues and analyses. Huntington, NY, Nova Science Publishers, 2000. 267 p.

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Towards a nuclear free world. Economic and political weekly, Apr. 17, 1993: 759-767.

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Cirincione, Joseph. Wolfsthal, Jon B. Rajkumar, Miriam.

Deadly arsenals: tracking weapons of mass destruction. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, July 2002. [25] p.

Partial contents.—Assessments and weapons.—Declared nuclear-weapon states.—States of some concern.—States that have given up nuclear weapons.

From the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace Global Policy Program - Non-Proliferation Project.

Available on the Internet at: http://www.ceip.org/files/nonprolife/default.asp

Contains country resources, news articles, conference information.

Commission to assess the organization of the federal government to combat the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

Combating proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Washington, The Commission,  $1999.\ 174\ p.$ 

"Congress established this Commission (pursuant to Public Law 104-293) to assess the organization of the Federal Government with regard to WMD proliferation and to make recommendations for improvements. The task is formidable. Proliferation is related to catastrophic terrorism, infrastructure protection, and espionage. Many separate government agencies that have overlapping jurisdiction are involved. Combating proliferation requires actions both at home and abroad, both unilateral and with other nations and international organizations. The Commission finds that the US Government is not effectively organized to combat proliferation." Includes a detailed list of agencies within the Federal government which are responsible for proliferating issues.

### Daalder, Ivo H.

Nuclear weapons in Europe: why zero is better. Arms control today, Jan./Feb. 1993: 15-8.

Daalder, Ivo H. Lindsay, James M.

A new agenda for nuclear weapons: on nuclear weapons, destroy and codify. Policy brief no. 94, Feb. 2002. [8] p.

From the Brookings Institution, Research on Foreign Policy Studies, Project on National Missile Defense and Nuclear Weapons.

Available on the Internet at:

http://www.brookings.org/dybdocroot/fp/research/projects/nmd/nmd.htm

Evaluates and critiques Bush's November 2001 arms reduction proposal.

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The proliferation puzzle: why nuclear weapons spread. London, F. Cass, 1993.  $356\ \mathrm{p}.$ 

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Why South Africa gave up the bomb. Foreign affairs, v. 72, Nov./Dec. 1993: 98-109.

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Regional security and nuclear non-proliferation. Disarmament 16, no. 3 (1993): 57-65.

### Ellsberg, Daniel.

Manhattan Project II: to end the threat of nuclear war. Harvard journal of world affairs, summer 1992: 4-23.

#### Erlich, Jeff.

Are nuclear arms needed? strategic commander says they're still vital to national security. Air force times, v. 57, Mar. 24, 1997: 30.

#### Falkenrath, Richard A.

Confronting nuclear, biological and chemical terrorism. Survival, v. 40, autumn 1998: 43-65.

Federation of American Scientists, Natural Resources, Defense Council, an Union of Concerned Scientists.

Toward true security: a US nuclear posture for the next decade. June 2001, 42 p.

Available on the Internet at:

http://www.fas.org/ssp/docs/010600-posture.pdf

Proposes a new nuclear weapons policy for the United States. The authors argue that the current force structure and doctrine are obsolete and actually endanger, rather than increase, America's security and that of the rest of the world. The report analyzes the problems with current nuclear policy and proposes a number of solutions."

Feiveson, Harold A. Blair, Bruce G. Dean, Jonathan. Fetter, Steve. Goodby, James. The nuclear turning point: a blueprint for deep cuts and de-alerting of nuclear weapons. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1999. 402 p.

Contents: Nuclear arms control at a crossroads. -- A strategy of staged reductions and de-alerting of nuclear forces. -- Limiting the role of nuclear weapons. -- Nuclear strategy and targeting doctrine. -- Ballistic missile defenses and deep reductions. -- De-alerting strategic nuclear forces. -- Nuclear forces under staged reductions. -- Tactical and reserve nuclear warheads. -- Transparency and irreversibility in nuclear warhead dismantlement -- Completing the deep cuts regime -- Verifying deep reductions in nuclear forces -- The next nuclear posture review? -- The road to abolition: how far can we go?

Forsberg, Randall D. Driscoll, William. Webb, Gregory. Dean, Jonathan.

Nonproliferation primer: preventing the spread of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons, Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press, 1995.

Contents: Nonproliferation: what one person can do. Weapons of mass destruction. Acquiring weapons of mass destruction. Existing treaties and agreements. Nonproliferation strategies. Nonproliferation trends and efforts. Toward nuclear disarmament and global security.

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The need for strategic reassurance in the 21st century. Arms control today, v. 31, Mar. 2001: 9-14.

"Whatever its root cause, strategic mistrust may be exacerbated by the specific policy decisions of governments — deployment of an NMD, for example — which may not be peak evil long-term designs but may nevertheless be perceived as such."

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Weapons of mass destruction proliferation pathways and pathway countermeasures. Newport, RI, Naval War College, 1997. 71 p.

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### Hagerty, Devin T.

The consequences of nuclear proliferation: lessons from South Asia. Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1998. 205 p.

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Arms control treaties and the future of international non-proliferation efforts. A Post-Cold War Nuclear Strategy Model. USAF Academy, CO, July 1998, 61 p. (Arms Control Series)

### Hamel-Green, Michael.

The role of regional denuclearization in post Cold War non-proliferation and common security strategies: paper presented at La Trobe University Conference, Nuclear proliferation & nuclear arms control after the Cold War. Mar. 1994.

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Countering the proliferation and use of weapons of mass destruction. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1998.  $369~\rm p.$ 

### Herring, Eric.

Preventing the use of weapons of mass destruction. Portland, OR, Frank Cass, 2000.  $226\ \mathrm{p}$ .

#### Hitchens, Theresa.

Get a policy, please. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 57, Jan./Feb. 2001: 21-23

"'What we urgently need is not a posture review, but a policy review . . . The problem, according to experts in widely different political camps, is that the mismatch between today's foreign and security policy agenda and Cold Warbased nuclear doctrine is becoming increasingly apparent . . . "

#### Howlett, Darryl and John Simpson.

Nuclearisation and denuclearisation in South Africa. Survival 35, no. 3 (1993): 154-73

### Isaacs, John.

Two steps forward, two steps back; United States missile defense action. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 57, July 1, 2001: 20.

"At the beginning of May, the Bush administration's plans for missile defense appeared on fast-forward; by the end of the month, fast-track deployment was less certain."

### Jones, Rodney W., et al.

Tracking nuclear proliferation: a guide in maps and charts. Washington, Brookings Institution Press, 1998.  $327~\rm p.$ 

### Johnson, Rebecca.

Nuclear arms control through multilateral negotiations. Contemporary security policy, v. 18, Aug. 1997: 83-115.

### Joseph, Robert G. Reichart, John F.

The case for nuclear deterrence today, Orbis, v. 42, winter 1998: 7-19.

### Kadish, Ronald T. Levin, Carl. Cochran, Thad. Dorgan, Byron et al.

Should the United States disregard the ABM treaty and begin deployment of a national missile defense system? Congressional digest, v. 80, Aug./Sep. 2001: 202-223

Kadish et al share their views on the ABM Treaty and on the need for and impact of a national missile defense system. There is a general agreement that there is a serious possibility that if the US takes the wrong approach, it could decrease national security and increase the risk of nuclear proliferation."

### Karp, Regina Cowen.

Security without nuclear weapons?: different perspectives on non-nuclear security. Oxford University Press, 1992.  $\,$  296 p.

### Kerrey, Robert. Hartung, William D.

Toward a new nuclear posture: challenges for the Bush administration. Arms control today, v. 31, Apr. 2001: 3-7.

"The Bush administration must decide between a unilaterist approach to U.S. security or a cooperative stance in which it leads the world toward reducing nuclear stockpiles."

#### Koch, Andrew.

Non-proliferation -- on the way out? Jane's defence weekly, v. 16, Oct. 20, 1999: 23-25.

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Technology and proliferation of nuclear weapons. New York, Oxford University Press, 1995. 351~p.

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Challenges and opportunities: U.S. nonproliferation and counterproliferation programs in 1996. Washington, Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, 1996. 38 p.

### Leitenberg, M.

'The desirability of international sanctions against the use of biological weapons and against violations of the biological weapons convention.' The Monitor, Athens, GA, summer 1997: 23-7.

### Lodal, Jan.

The price of dominance: the new weapons of mass destruction and their challenge to American leadership. New York, Council on Foreign Relations Press, 2001. 145 p.

Explores the U.S. post-Cold War nuclear strategy and the necessity of mulitlateral cooperation.

Pledging 'no first strike': a step toward real WMD cooperation. Arms control today, v. 31, Mar. 2001: 3-8.

"Unless the United States adopts policies that take into account the inevitability of other nations coalescing to oppose its military dominance—no

matter how benign they may see its current motives—the dangers from WMD proliferation will accelerate. The Bush administration should organize its WMD policy around a new strategic vision of strong deterrence coupled with open international cooperation."

### Mann, Paul.

Pace of proliferation key to missile defense. World news and analysis, v. 155, Aug. 13, 2001: 28.

"The Administration respondingly proclaims that ballistic missile defense will curb proliferation simply by diminishing the practical value and usefulness of offensive missiles . . . Skeptics . . . reply that proliferation will reincarnate in other forms"

### Manning, Robert A.

Back to the future: toward a post-nuclear ethic. -- The new logic of nonproliferation. Washington, Progressive Foundation, Jan. 1994.

### Moberly, John.

"Deterrence: the last weapon." World today, v. 55, Mar. 1999: 16-17.

"Deterrence has a good record this century in preventing the use of horrifying weapons. During World War Two, Hitler was deterred from using chemicals by the knowledge that similar weapons were available to allies. During the Cold War deterrence prevented either side from resorting to the nuclear option."

### Mozley, Robert F.

The politics and technology of nuclear proliferation. Seattle, WA, University of Washington Press, 1998.  $316~\rm p.$ 

#### Nagel, John A.

Defending against new dangers: arms control of weapons of mass destruction in a globalized world. World affairs, v. 162, spring 2000: 158-173.

"Arms control agreements are of value to the extent that they can be verified and violations of their provisions can be punished. Verification and enforcement mechanisms have been developed over time that have increased the effectiveness of arms control regimes, and they will continue to evolve with both changes in international politics and developments in technology."

National Academy of Sciences, Committee on International Security and Arms
Control

The future of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear relationship. Washington, National Academy Press, 1991.

"The principal objective of U.S. nuclear policy should be to strengthen the emerging political consensus that nuclear weapons should serve no purpose beyond the deterrence of, and possible response to, nuclear attack by others."

### Newing, Edward W.

Counter-proliferation: the emperor has no clothes. Carlisle Barracks, PA, Army War College, Apr. 1996: 26 p.

### Newhouse, John.

The missile defense debate. Foreign affairs, v. 80, July/Aug. 2001: 97-109.

"The greatest nuclear threat today comes not from rogue states but from accidental launches . . . The Bush administration claims national missile defense can protect the United States from long-range missiles fired by rogue states. But that threat is trivial, and Washington's unilateralist approach to missile defense will only anger China and Russia while alienating U.S. allies."

### Nolan, Janne E.

Preparing for the 2001 nuclear posture review. Arms control today, v. 30, Nov. 2000: 10-14.

Covers the inertia of nuclear policy. "Both presidential campaigns and both sides of the aisle in Congress agree that the United States must undertake a review of its nuclear posture and must do it soon."

An elusive consensus: Nuclear weapons and American security after the cold war. Washington, Brookings Institution, 1999. 139 p.

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A new way of thinking: moving away from doomsday and other dangers. Vital speeches of the day, New York, May 1, 2001.

Argues that the post-Cold War era requires a fundamental shift in the way we think about nuclear weapons, the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and our national security.

### Panofsky, Wolfgang K. H.

The continuing impact of the nuclear revolution. Arms control today, v. 31, June 2001: 3-5

"The revolution in warfare caused by the advent of nuclear weapons cannot be reversed. Scientific and technical facts cannot be coerced by policy. Defense of the nation, however well-intentioned, cannot be achieved by scientifically unsound means. President Bush should reconsider his approach to national missile defense and await the outcome of a balanced and thorough analysis of the fundamental issues."

### Pape, Robert A.

Why economic sanctions do not work. International security, v. 22, fall 1997: 90-136.

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Our Iraq policy is not working. New York times, New York, Feb. 24, 2001: A 13

Op ed: 'America's policy to contain Iraq is rapidly unraveling. The package of coercive levers used in the 1990's -- economic sanctions, weapons inspections and the no-fly zones -- is coming unglued. Indeed, this containment policy has not succeeded in its goals of ridding Iraq of weapons of mass destruction or ousting Saddam Hussein. The policy only antagonizes our coalition allies, and it should be abandoned.'

### Parrington, Alan J.

Mutally assured destruction revisited: strategic doctrine in question. Airpower journal, v. 11, winter 1997: 4-19.

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Dismantling the concept of 'weapons of mass destruction'. Arms control today, v. 28, Apr. 1998: 3-8.

Argues that the United States cannot afford to wait for an unforseen catastrophic event involving nuclear weapons to advance the priority of controlling nuclear weapons.

### Payne, Keith B.

Post-Cold War requirements for U.S. nuclear deterrence policy. Comparative strategy, v. 17, July-Sept. 1998: 227-277.

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Partial contents.—Counterproliferation, conventional counterforce and nuclear war, by James J. Wirtz.—NATO's non-proliferation and deterrence policies: mixed signals and the norm of WMD non-use, by Henning Riecke.—The international system and the use of weapons of mass destruction, by Yannis A. Stivachtis.—The impact of the revolution in military affairs, by Patrick Morgan.

### Quester, George H.

Mismatched deterrents: preventing the use of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. International studies perspectives, v. 1, Aug. 2000: 165-176.

"This article identifies some of the serious difficulties of alternative approaches to deterring chemical or biological attacks, ranging from nuclear

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### Ramana, M.V.

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Bridled ambition: why countries constrain their nuclear capabilities. Washington, Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore, Md., Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995. 346 p.

Provides case studies of countries which have exercised nuclear restraint and the role of U.S. diplomacy on foreign denuclearization.

#### Roberts, Brad.

Proliferation and nonproliferation in the 1990s: looking for the right lessons. Nonproliferation review, fall 1999: 70-82.

#### Robles, Alfonso Garcia.

The Denuclearization of Latin America. Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1967. 167 p.

#### Rosenberg, Barbara Hatch.

Allergic reaction: Washington's response to the BWC protocol. Arms control today, v. 31, July/Aug. 2001: 3-8.

"There are no military weapons that can 'take out' an emerging disease, nor are there any defensive measures that can reliably protect the public. Rather than waiting for a catastrophe to prove these points, the United Sates should take a step toward prevention right now . . . ."

### Rotblat, Joseph, Jack Steinberger and Bhalchandra Udgaonkar.

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### Sagan, Scott Douglas, Kenneth N. Waltz.

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"Kenneth Waltz argues that fear of the spread of nuclear weapons is exaggerated: 'More may be better' since new nuclear states will use their weapons to deter other countries from attacking them. Scott Sagan argues that the spread of nuclear weapons will make the world less stable: 'More will be worse' since some new nuclear states will engage in preventive wars, fail to build survivable forces, or have serious nuclear weapons accidents."

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The gift of time: the case for abolishing nuclear weapons now. New York, Henry Holt/Metropolitan Books, 1998. 240 p.

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### Schneider, Barry R.

Future war and counterproliferation: U.S. military responses to NBC proliferation threats. Westport, CN, Praeger, 1999. 229 p.

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"This article examines the general prospects for arms control as a means to manage the evolving problems of chemical and biological weapons proliferation and the prospect of warfare using these weapons. The main proposition is that there is a mixed picture for arms control in this field."

### Shen, Dingli.

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### Sokolski, Henry D.

Prevailing in a well-armed world: devising competitive strategies against weapons proliferation. Carlisle Barracks, Pa., Strategic Studies Institute, 2000. 162 p.

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#### Stenhouse, Mark.

Proliferation and the north-south divide: the prospects for arms control. International defense review, 1995: 131-139.

### Tannewald, Nina.

The nuclear taboo: the United States and the normative basis of nuclear non-use. International organization, v. 53, summer 1999: 433-468.

Author argues that a stigma on the use of nuclear weapons helps explain why the U.S. has not used them since 1945.

There's no need to worry about nuclear war. Economist (US), v. 349,

Dec. 19, 1998: 70(1).

Found in the article, "Unthinkable: the ostrich's view of the world, p. 67-72. Argues that a massive nuclear war is unlikely, but that a small nuclear war between lesser powers is still possible.

#### Tucker, Jonathan.

Toxic terror: assessing terrorist use of chemical and biological weapons. Monterey Institute of International Studies, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 2000. 303 p.

Suggests discussion of CBW terrorism and their potential use by non-state actors should focus on the assessment of threat and terrorist motivation, not the vulnerability of urban areas. Includes a section on the history and use of CBW. The book details 12 historical case studies followed by a section on findings and conclusions.

Viewpoint: verifying a multilateral ban on nuclear weapons: lessons from the CWC. Nonproliferation review, winter 1998: 81-90.

"General nuclear disarmament will only become possible when the nuclear weapon states renounce any military use of these weapons beyond deterrence of a nuclear attack. The burden is on the United States and Russia to take the first steps toward denuclearization."

### Tucker, Jonathan and Sands, Amy.

An unlikely threat. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 55, July-Aug. 1999: 46-52.

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The case for strategic escrow. Bulletin of the atomic scientists, v. 54, Mar./Apr. 1998: 16-17

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Foreign missile developments and the ballistic missile threat through 2015. Unclassified summary of a national intelligence estimate.

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### U.S. Congress. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations.

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Partial contents.--Key judgments.--Nuclear strategy and policy.--The new security landscape.--Nuclear weapons and international politics under the new paradigm.—Challenges for which nuclear plans are needed.--Nuclear command and control.--Department of Defense (DoD) nuclear infrastructure.--The nuclear stockpile.

### Van Nederveen, Gilles.

Survey of web-based data on missile proliferation. Aerospace power journal, v. 14, summer 2000: 109-114.

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### Vegar, Jose.

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Weapons of mass destruction: foreign and domestic options for containment: proceedings of a conference May 6, 1998. Edited by David J. Eaton. Austin,

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Partial contents: Biological and chemical warfare threats and countermeasures. – Government contingency planning for biological and chemical terrorism. – Experience in decommissioning weapons of mass destruction. – Containing the threat from illegal bombings. – How do U.S. government agencies cope with international biological and chemical warfare threats? – Contingency planning for nuclear terrorism. – Comments on the containment of weapons of mass destruction.

### Weiss, Kenneth G.

The limits of diplomacy: missile proliferation, diplomacy, and defense. World affairs, v. 163, winter 2001: 110-122.

Examines "growing regional and global missile threat from the Third World... the MTCR... regional policies to roll back missile programs of concern... the limits of diplomacy in dealing with missile proliferation and the need for a technological approach, specifically antimissile systems, to complement diplomacy and provide for defense against attack on the United States and its allies."

### Wurst, Jim. Burroughs, John.

Ending the nuclear nightmare: a strategy for the Bush administration. World policy journal, v. 18, spring 2001: 31-38.

"The purpose of this essay is to suggest how President Bush can avoid a headlong rush to a new arms race and proceed down a safer and less costly path, bringing the world closer to the abolition of weapons no nation sanely wishes ever to use."

### Zimmerman, Craig L.

Nuclear proliferation from the former Soviet Union and the effects of U.S. economic incentives. Carlisle Barracks, Army War College, PA, Apr. 1995. 29 p.

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Weapons of mass disruption and terrorism. Terrorism and political violence, v. 12, spring 2000: 37-46.

"New perceptions of weaponry have developed in some counter-terrorism circles, based on the concept of Weapons of Mass Disruption which target bonds and relationships, rather than things, at the systemic level. These capabilities are

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#### Cordesman, Anthony H.

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Weapons of mass destruction in the Middle East: Updated reports detail proliferation throughout region, outline Iraqi capabilities. Washington, Center for Strategic and International Studies. June 20, 2002. 293 p.

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### Taylor, Eric R.

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The threat: an intelligence assessment. American intelligence journal, v. 19, spring 1999: 5-13.

In this statement before the Senate Armed Services Committee on Current and Projected National Security Threats, the Director of the CIA discusses threats posed by weapons of mass destruction, regional instability, and terrorism.

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Partial contents.--Chemical and biological terrorism: how real a threat? by Jonathan B. Tucker.--Nuclear terrorism reconsidered, by Gavin Cameron.--Understanding the new terrorism, by Mark Juergensmeyer.--Counterterrorism and the Constitution, by James X. Dempsey.--Domestic terrorism: the enemy

within, by Dennis B. Downey.--Information-age terrorism, by John Arquilla, David Ronfeldt, and Michele Zanini.

Terrorism. Harvard international review, v. 20, fall 1998: 44-56, 58-70.

Contents.--Wars of fear: coming to grips with terrorism, by Adrian Guelke.-Terror's new face, by Walter Laqueur.--Global rebels, by Louise Richardson.--Terror, society, & law, by Alberto Fujimori.--Carbombs & cameras, by Dale Van Atta.

### TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS

U.S. Department of State, Bureau of Arms Control: Treaties and Agreements

Available on the Internet at:

http://www.state.gov/www/global/arms/bureau\_ac/treaties\_ac.html Provides links to the text of the following treaties and agreements:

- Accidents Measures Agreement
- The African Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone Treaty
- The Antarctic Treaty
- Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty
- Ballistic Missile Launch Notification Agreement
- Biological Weapons Convention
- Charter of Paris for a New Europe
- Chemical Weapons Convention
- Comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and Seismic Monitoring Stations of Potential Use to CTBT
- Confidence- and Security-Building Measures
- Conventional Armed Forces in Europe Treaty
- Environmental Modifiction Convention
- Geneva Protocol
- Hot Line Agreement
- Hot Line Expansion Agreement
- Hot Line Modernization Agreement
- Incidents at Sea Agreement
- Interim Agreement
- Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces
- Latin American Nuclear-Free Zone Treaty
- Limited Test Ban Treaty
- Memorandum of Agreement Between the United States of America and the Russian Federation on the Establishment of a Joint Center for the Exchange of Data from Early Warning Systems and Notifications of Missile Launches
- Memorandum of Understanding on Notifications of Missile Launches

- Missile Technology Control Regime Guidelines
- Non-Proliferation Treaty
- Nuclear Material Convention
- Nuclear Risk Reduction Centers
- Open Skies Treaty
- Outer Space Treaty
- PNE Treaty
- Prevention of Nuclear War Agreement
- Seabed Arms Control Treaty
- South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT I) (narrative)
- Strategic Arms Limitation Talks (SALT II)
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START I)
- Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty II (START II)
- Threshold Test Ban Treaty
- U.S.-IAEA Safeguards Agreement
- Vienna Document 1994

Department of State, Bureau of Arms Control. Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Available on the Internet at:

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Highlights, remarks to the media, and fact sheets on various treaties. Also see, Department of State, Bureau of Arms Control. Conventional Weapons.

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### Ernst, Steven P. et al.

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Available on the Internet at:

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Covers the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, SALT and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty.

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### Rauf, Tariq. Nikitin, Mary Beth. Rissanen, Jenni.

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"The Inventory seeks to cover the wide diversity of nonproliferation organizations, including formal organizations, non-charter regimes, multilateral groupings of states, treaties, and regional and bilateral arrangements."

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### Tucker, Jonathan B.

The chemical weapons convention: implementation challenges and solutions. Available on the Internet at:

http://www.cns.miis.edu/pubs/reports/tuckcwc.htm

"...various experts examine the strengths and weaknesses of the chemical disarmament regime and warn that unless current implementation trends are soon reversed, the international community could lose a critically important tool in eliminating these heinous weapons."

The Chemical weapons convention: has it enhanced U.S. security? Arms control today, v. 31, Apr., 2001: 8-12.

"Washington has weakened the CWC and missed opportunities to further its own security interests by not complying fully with the convention's affirmative obligations."

U.S. Senate. Committee on Foreign Relations.

START II Treaty: report together with additional views. Washington, G.P.O., 1995. 64 p.

#### Wulf, Norman A.

Observations from the 2000 NPT review conference. Arms control today, v. 30, Nov. 2000: 3-9.

"For years, the United States has argued that nuclear disarmament will be achieved only though incremental steps, not through the negotiation of an allencompassing treaty. The New Agenda Coalition proposals focused primarily on such steps . . . The consensus achieved by NPT parties reinforces . . . the vital role of the treaty in advancing the security of all nations."

### Glossary of COMMONLY USED ACRONYMS

ABM(T) Antiballistic Missile (Treaty)

ACDA Arms Control and Disarmament Agency

ACME Arms Control in the Middle East

AG Australia Group

ALCM Air Launched Cruise Missile

Arms Export Control Act

BMD Ballistic Missile Defense

BMDO US Ballistic Missile Defense Organization

BTW Biological and Toxin Weapons/Warfare

BW Biological Weapon/Warfare

**BWC Biological Weapons Convention** 

CALT China Academy of Launch Vehicle Technology

CBW Chemical and biological weapons

CSBMs Confidence and Security Building Measures

CTBT(O) Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (Organization)

CTR(P) Cooperative Threat Reduction (Program)

CW Chemical Weapon/ Warfare

**CWC Chemical Weapons Convention** 

DCI Director of Central Intelligence

DOD Department of Defense

DOE Department of Energy

DPRK North Korea

EPCI Enhanced Proliferation Control Initiative

FM(C)T Fissile Material (Cut-Off) Treaty

GA General Assembly

GCS Global Control System

GLCM Ground Launched Cruise Missile

HEU Highly enriched Uranium

IAEA International Atomic Energy Agency

ICBM Inter-Continental Ballistic Missile

IDC International Data Center

IMS International Monitoring System (a provision of the CTBT)

INF Treaty Intermediate Nuclear Forces Treaty

IRBM Intermediate-Range Ballistic Missile

ISTC International Science and Technology Center

JCIC Joint Compliance and Inspection Commission

LEU Low-Enriched Uranium

LTBT Limited Test Ban Treaty

MIRV Multiple Independently Targeted Re-entry Vehicle

MRBM Medium-Range Ballistic Missile

MTCR Missile Technology Control Regime (not international agreement; no legal authority)

NAC New Agenda Coalition

NAM Nonaligned Movement

NCI Nuclear Cities Initiative

NEST Nuclear Emergency Search Team

NGO Non-Governmental Organization

NIF National Ignition Facility

NMD National Missile Defense

NNWS Non-Nuclear-Weapon States

NPAC Nonproliferation and Arms Control

NPG Nuclear Planning Group

NPT Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty

NRC Nuclear Regulatory Commission

NSG Nuclear Suppliers Group

NWS Nuclear-Weapon State

NWFZ Nuclear-Weapon-Free-Zone

OPCW Organisation for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons

OSCE Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe

OSI On Site Inspection

PALs Permissive Action Links

PNE Peaceful Nuclear Explosion

PRC People's Republic of China

RERTR Reduced Enrichment for Research and Test Reactors

ROK Republic of Korea

SALT Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty

SLBW Submarine-Launched Ballistic Missile

SLCM Sea Launch Cruise Missile
SSP Stockpile Stewardship Program
START Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty/Talks
SDI Strategic Defense Initiative
SLV Space Launch Vehicle
TMD Theater Missile Defense
TWG Technology Working Group
UCS Union of Concerned Scientists
UNDC United Nations Disarmament Commission
UNGA United Nations General Assembly
UNSCOM United Nations Special Commission
WMD Weapons of Mass Destruction

Additional terms may be identified by using the following web site: http://www.janes.com/defence/glossary/

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### HIGH SCHOOL DEBATE TOPIC, 2001-2002

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RESOLVED: That the United States Federal Government should establish a foreign policy significantly limiting the use of weapons of mass destruction.

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American-Ukrainian Nuclear Relations. BOOK. 1996. Examines the early history of United States-Ukraine relations over the nuclear weapons issue. Presents both the history of a 2-year period, 1992-1994, and posits a number of explanations as to why things developed the way they did. Establishes a framework of this important period from which scholars can further proceed. 91 p. 0-16-061193-8

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S/N 008-020-01413-3 \$6.00

Chemical and Biological Nonproliferation Program FY99 Annual Report. BOOK. 2000. Summarizes the Chemical and Biological Nonproliferation Program's activities that will be of interest to both policy and technical audiences. Consists of an overview of the program's philosophy, goals and recent progress in the major program areas. Contains an appendix with more detailed project summaries. 179 p.; ill. 0-16-059123-6

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Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Destruction. BOOK. 1998. Contains the text of "Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on Their Production". 197 p. 0-16-061922-X AC 1.2:W 37

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Nuclear Coexistence: Rethinking United States Policy to Promote Stability in an Era of Proliferation. BOOK. 1994. Addresses the emerging incongruence between the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the United States policy for managing this process. 192 p. 0-16-061362-0 D 301.26/25:1

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Patterns of Global Terrorism 2001. BOOK. 2002. Details the danger that terrorism poses to the world and the efforts that the United States and its partners in the international community are making to defeat it. 183 p.; ill. 0-16-067390-9

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**Proliferation: Threat and Response.** BOOK. 1997. Updates information about the nature of the global proliferation of nuclear, biological, and chemical weapons. Describes the policies and programs that the Defense Department is carrying out to counter this growing threat to American citizens, armed forces, and allies. 88 p.; ill. 0-16-042727-4

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**2001 Update to the above.** BOOK. 2001. 131 p.; ill. 0-16-042791-6

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Strategic Implications of a Nuclear-Armed Iran. BOOK. 2001. Discusses the strategic implication of a nuclear-armed Iran. 89 p.; ill. 0-16-061762-6

S/N 008-020-01497-4

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Transforming Nuclear Deterrence. BOOK. 1997. Presents summaries of remarks made at a series of nine discussions on the theme of "Managing the Transforming Nuclear Deterrence," sponsored by the Institute for National Strategic Studies. Focuses on the relationship of the United States and Russia in light of this topic. 81 p. 0-16-061202-0 D 5.402:T 68

S/N 008-020-01428-1

United States Nuclear Policy in the 21st Century: A Fresh Look at National Strategy and Requirements, Final Report. BOOK. 1998. Assesses the rationale and requirements for United States nuclear weapons, and the infrastructure and people that are critical to their sustainment, in the current and future security environment. Promotes greater understanding of the issues and the measures that will be necessary to sustain deterrence in an uncertain future. 264 p.; ill. 0-16-061227-6 D 5.402:N 88/3

> S/N 008-020-01460-5 14.50

Verifying Nonproliferation Treaties: Obligation, Process, and Sovereignty. BOOK. 1995. Examines two issues of national security policy: stemming the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; and verifying international nonproliferation agreements. Describes the forces that shape the ways in which negotiators address the question of establishing and maintaining confidence among signatories to treaties limiting nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and reducing the size of conventional forces. Explains how the chance events of the day intertwine with substantive developments in treaty negotiations and implementation. 167 p. 0-16-051683-8 D 5.402:N 73

> S/N 008-020-01381-1 8.00

Weapons of Mass Destruction: New Perspectives on Counterproliferation. BOOK. 1995. Provides information from a symposium which addressed the challenges to United States national security and international stability posed by the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Covers nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons; and missiles as a means of delivery. 261 p.; ill. 0-16-047822-7 13.50

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